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233 474 571 578 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the directions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 828 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers [577] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the [234] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully [234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 461 [577] Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt. Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

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the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

233 825 [554]

3. THE WOMEN

Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important characteristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the practical division of labour women rather than men care for the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

828 825 233 [776] [558] 828 562 462 233

Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical

562 233 [834] [841]

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marriage takes place. In a united extended family this presents no difficulty; but if wool had to be collected from a number of autonomous households, it would certainly lead to friction between the wives with reciprocal accusations of sharp practice. Finally, in a large household which has many women the honour of the sister is more efficiently safeguarded. It is not sufficient to have an unmarried brother to take revenge if the sister suffers rape or insult. This is certainly a deterrent, but it does not ensure complete security. It is equally important that whenever a sister goes out on some errand, to gather firewood or carry water, she has a companion to go with her. In the popular mind wells and illicit sexual intercourse are linked together. If a man for any reason wants to see the local girls, he has only to sit by the well and by and by he will see them all. (The wells used by the Sarakatsani traditionally were never, and today are often not, village wells, but remote mountain springs.) If an unmarried girl goes to the well too frequently alone, the gossips are quick to suggest that her object is to collect something more than a barrel of water. But if she always has a companion, she is protected both from the danger of assault which is probably, in fact, remote, and from the danger of slander which is much more real.

For these reasons, then, brothers do not divide the extended household until all the sisters are married. Afterwards, the brothers are free to complete their own marriages and separate their households in the manner that has been described. Each is now the leader of an autonomous family. But when the division of the joint household occurs with 'good heart', and where there is sufficient grazing, they will normally remain together in a 'company' under the general leadership of the eldest brother. But working operations are now on a basis of strict accounting. Brothers often point out that the relative peace and goodwill which prevails between their wives and children after the division of the extended family household is bought at the price of a hitherto unknown element of calculation in their own relations. This is true. However, they sometimes forget that just before division took place it was often precisely the lack of calculation in their relations that they themselves had been complaining about.

In describing the process of development which occurs

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The importance of virginity

is such that it leads to the complete segregation of the sexes amongst unmarried persons. Only in the family and the kindred is it possible for unmarried persons of opposite sex even to hold conversation. And it will be remembered that generally men do not marry until they are thirty, girls until they are about twenty-five. These two circumstances, a relatively late age of marriage, and the segregation of the sexes except in the family and kindred, inevitably add to the value of an unmarried boy's social relations with his young female cousins; for apart from his own sisters, they are the only unmarried women of his own generation with whom he is allowed to have any contact. A youth is very close to his sister to whom he is bound by categorical obligations, yet his behaviour with her is restrained. With female cousins, on the other hand, he behaves in a familiar manner which includes a good deal of mutual teasing and bodily contact. Particularly among first cousins of opposite sex between the ages of thirteen and sixteen familiarity is expressed in playful wrestling, bottom smacking, and cheek pinching. Generally, teasing between second cousins of opposite sex is a little more restrained; for here one approaches the margin of kinship. The girl is a kinswoman but she is also almost a 'stranger' in terms of kinship distance. The risk, for a boy, of being tempted into some sexual misconduct is inherently greater. Friendship between rather older cousins takes the form of lounging before the hearth, the youth perhaps resting his head on the girl cousin's shoulder while they talk and joke. In this context teasing is a social convention which permits a form of very mild and unacknowledged sexual byplay, yet absolutely prohibits any degree of overt sexuality and is easily rationalized as being 'only a game'. It reconciles the two guises under which a female cousin appears to the youth; first, as the only female company of his own age that he is permitted to enjoy outside his family until he reaches the age of thirty; and secondly, as a kinswoman whose honour he is bound in faith and trust to uphold.

If young kinsmen and kinswomen find in each other the only heterosexual companionship which is permitted outside the family, it is also true in a more general sense that in this community true friendship is only possible between kinsmen. Friends are, necessarily, kinsmen. From this general body of relatives a

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beyond the second year. Each morning at dawn, each evening at dusk, during these long years she sings her dirges and lamentations again. Even when the period of mourning is completed, she will never again dance at a festival, or sing a ballad, during the remaining years of her life.

If the role of the mother expresses the solidarity of the family, its honour and integrity largely depend on her virtue. A mother who is thought to have lost her virginity before marriage or, afterwards, to have been guilty of adultery, or even an apparent inclination towards it, infects her children with the taint of her dishonour, and however closely these children may conform to right ways of behaviour, they cannot retrieve the reputation of their family.

Although the honour of a woman is so intimately connected with the disciplining of her sexual activity as to be almost synonymous with it, any lapse from social rectitude also affects her honour; for it is argued that if she fails in the one respect, she is very likely to fail in other and more critical situations concerned with her sexual virtue. The wife of Costas Pistiolis is a woman who cannot restrain her laughter. It is held against her that 'she always jokes and never talks with seriousness'. This is an attitude unbecoming to a married woman of modesty with children and responsibilities, for it betrays a lack of self-discipline. Her family is, in any case, poor and despised. She ought to be conscious of so many worries that laughter should be impossible for her. It is insulting to suggest to a young man that he might consider marrying the daughter of this family. The girl, Chrysanthe, is acknowledged to be modest, comely, and hard-working. But it is pointed out that, although there is no positive evidence of sexual misconduct on the part of the mother, her uncontrolled and unwomanly behaviour makes the possibility of this not unlikely. And despite the seeming virtue of the girl Chrysanthe, the fact that she is the daughter of such a woman leads a man to await with some confidence the time when serious moral faults in her character will be discovered. Thus, upon the honour of the mother depends the honour of her children in a sense which logically precedes the mutual responsibility which members of a family in their conduct bear at all times for the reputation of the family. A brother can take some action to cleanse the dishonour of a sister, either against

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593 the sister herself or her seducer, but a son is unable to do
599 anything to wash away the stain of his mother's dishonour.

[834] The role of the father in the elementary family is concerned with leadership and representation of the group to the outside world. The management of the flock, the handling of money, and the arrangement of matches, fall within his sphere of activity and upon his successful manipulation of these affairs depend his own prestige and that of his family and its descendants. For these reasons a father must be an 'able[4] protector' (ικανὸς προστάτης). He must at least be able to provide his
[558] family with food, clothing, and shelter. A man who fails in this duty forfeits any respect in the eyes of the community; he is heedless of his obligations, depraved, lost (χαμένος). But to be accepted as an 'able protector' demands more than this. A man must be a skilful shepherd and a shrewd bargainer, possess friends in the right places, and be of sufficient wealth to sustain honourably his family responsibilities. Above all, he requires the quality of manliness (ἀνδρισμός), to guard the honour of the family from rape or insult, and by his general behaviour in public to uphold the prestige of the group.

593 The father's duty of protection is balanced by his right to a position of authority. This is legitimate by reason of social convention, and is sanctioned by public opinion and in the early years by the simple fact of power. Children acknowledge the father's authority by their attitude of careful respect. And from this position the father is able to discipline them into accepting important social values, and to co-ordinate their various activities in the family's labour force. But the attitude of respect towards a father also prevents any precocious assertion of authority by a son which would damage his father's reputation, and place father and son in open com-
[471] petition. The fact that all economic resources are owned corporately by family groups presents a problem for the method of succession to wealth and status in the community, a problem which inevitably causes difficulties between members of proximate generations in the same family. We have seen that by the time a son is approaching the age of thirty less deference

[4] I translate ικανός as able or capable, but it also indicates 'One who suffices, one who is able to provide', specific meanings which are significant in the present context.

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sisters have been settled. On the other hand, the honour of the family which affects so intimately the prestige of the brothers, is largely in the keeping of the sister. Her honour is their honour. Later, through her marriage, she provides her brother with new affinal relationships of co-operation; he, in turn, is able to influence her husband to treat her well. Brother and sister are interdependent.

Since the female sex is subordinate to the male sex, the unmarried sister is always under the authority of her brothers. There are no conventional forms of respect between brother and sister but the latter obeys the instructions of an older or adult brother without debate. A brother watches over his sister's conduct and criticizes her freely when he thinks her public behaviour is unseemly. This disciplinary care begins at an early age. Ten-year-old Nausicaa was discovered one day by her young brother Charilaos, who is only six years old, when she was performing for my benefit a very comic imitation of how old men dance at weddings. Pink with the shame of it and with tears streaming down his face, he vainly tried to stop her mimicry.

After puberty, a certain formality enters into the relationship. Physical contact is avoided and there is little teasing. Conversation about family interests is easy and natural, but is more restrained in regard to personal matters. This is, no doubt, a conventional attitude which helps to maintain the neutral character of a relationship which exists between members of opposite sexes. But it seems also to be not inconsistent with the gravity of the categorical obligations which bind so closely a brother with his sister.

4. INTERRELATIONS

In all societies, the biological differentiae of sex and age provide criteria for the ordering of social relations in the family, although the emphasis on each factor and their mode of combination is peculiar to the particular society.

As one might expect, difference in age or generation is an equivocal criterion for the ordering of family roles in a community where the importance of competitive values is so pronounced. Persons of different sex have complementary functions and they do not compete. Naturally, difference of

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577 and the strength that is drawn from them. The word also describes a certain ruthless ability in any form of endeavour. Here again we see the 'efficient' aspect of manliness. But βαρβᾶτος is in no sense a moral term, and in other contexts it may describe the dishonourable conduct of a man who rapes a woman or bullies weaker men. The manliness that is related to honour requires this physical basis, yet it must discipline animal strength and passions to its own ideal ends.

577 The quality required of women in relation to honour is
831 shame (ντροπή), particularly sexual shame. Subjectively the
834 woman's sexual shame is not simply a fear of external sanctions;
562 it is an instinctive revulsion from sexual activity, an attempt in dress, movement, and attitude, to disguise the fact that she possesses the physical attributes of her sex. Maidens must be virgins, and even married women must remain virginal in thought and expression. But honour is always something imputed by others. In these matters the individual woman can never retreat within her own conscience. Her honour depends upon the reputation which the community is willing to concede, not upon the evidence of facts in any case difficult to determine. Therefore she protects her honour most effectively by conforming in every outward aspect of her deportment to a code of sexual shame. The woman who succeeds in this is τίμια and τιμημένη, honourable and honoured; but, if she fails, she is ἀδιάντροπη, shameless, and σκύλλα, a bitch, a woman without restraint, whose behaviour is compounded of the reflexes of her animal instincts. She becomes 'used' (μεταχειρισμένη), if only on the lips of men, and therefore 'lost' (χαμένη).

577 The sexual shame of women is no doubt related to the ambi-
562 valent attitude of the Sarakatsani towards sexual relations
593 even in marriage. But it is also consistent with the importance
831 of legitimacy as the essential qualification for membership in
684 the family group. The sexual, reproductive, and working capacities of women belong exclusively to their families; and there is no more certain way of defiling the honour of another family than by seducing one of its women, particularly since mixed attitudes of awe and shame surround the sexual act and the reproductive life process. There is double cause for shame. Something of intimate spiritual value is rifled and desecrated by a stranger while at the same time the moral

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honour prestige is not possible. But also for those families, which on other grounds have no prestige, honour itself is already lost.

3. THE HONOURABLE MAN: POSITIVE IDEALS

The number of roles which the individual is required or able to assume in this community is limited, and some description of these has already been given in earlier chapters. Whether or not the individual fulfils the more general expectations of his various roles is a further consideration in the assessment of his prestige. Therefore, in this section I shall discuss certain values and qualities which are associated with the different complexes of roles that are appropriate for men and women at various stages of life. These are related to honour and the concepts of manliness and shame but are not always entirely consistent with them.

Together with age, the division of the sexes is the significant discriminating factor in the system of social roles. The two opposed but complementary categories of persons that result from this division provide both a division of labour and a pattern of moral virtues and faults.

The division of labour is unambiguous but not rigid. Some tasks which are normally performed by one sex are carried out by persons of the other sex in an emergency. This does not provoke criticism except where the reversal of roles becomes an established feature of a family's working arrangements. A family which day after day sends a twelve-year-old daughter to herd goats will certainly lose prestige. There are, however, a number of tasks which are never attempted by the other sex. For example, women never milk sheep or use a shepherd's crook; men almost never milk goats. Although men will lift heavy objects to secure them to a mule, they never carry burdens on their backs. However sick or feeble his wife or daughter a man will never help her with the intolerable burden of heavy water barrels. These tasks have become diacritical symbols of the two sexes; and to ignore them is to deny that one possesses the essential qualities of one's sex, manliness or shame.

As we have seen in earlier chapters, companionship and co-operation between people of opposite sex is possible only within the family and the kindred. Outside these limits the sexes (except in the case of the very old and the very young)

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are rigidly segregated, and the categorical opposition is evident. For in this context women are always a potential threat to the honour of men whether the latter are kinsmen or strangers. Thus unrelated persons of opposite sex seldom speak except to exchange a curt and conventional 'good day' if they meet on a narrow path. Although a man calls out a greeting to an unmarried girl, she keeps her eyes on the ground and never replies. At weddings unrelated persons of opposite sex, even though they are members of the same kindred of the bride or the groom, may not speak to one another. On these occasions the two sexes hold their feasting and dancing separately. In recent years at village festivals unrelated Sarakatsani of both sexes sometimes dance in the same ring but a woman is always flanked on both sides by men to whom she is related.

Within the group of related families which co-operate in the management of sheep, there are occasions when this opposition is expressed in accepted attitudes of sexual solidarity. If a number of women are working together on a common task such as the building of a hut, a group of men with nothing better to occupy their time will stand about smoking while they freely criticize their women's craftsmanship, and even revile them for their more general faults of ugliness and cunning. From time to time one of the more senior women will attempt some reply. 'Men', she calls out, 'are lazy good-for-nothings who do nothing but talk.' These exchanges begin in tones of banter but sometimes, in the later stages, they find sharp edges. In family life a favourite topic of evening conversation is a debate on the relative contributions and sacrifices which are made by the men and the women of the family for its well-being and security. This kind of talk is good-humoured but serves to draw out and emphasize what is expected of male and female roles.

Women face a hard and merciless routine of work and suffering. *Camaraderie* and the consciousness of a common fate help them to face it. This aspect of the solidarity of women is often expressed in the frequent discussion among those related by kinship or marriage of their common subjection to men in sexual activity. There is a great deal of bawdy reference to the male sex organs, and women constantly speak of their dislike of sexual intercourse and the absence of physical pleasure they find in it.

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πρᾶμα), and παρμάρα, a disease which attacks the udder of the sheep, is often attributed to the omission of this precaution. Another illustration of this idea of pollution is the prohibition of sexual intercourse on the eve, or the day, of an important religious festival. Sexual activity is necessary in that it produces children, who are God's children, but evil in that some sensuality is unavoidable. It must be performed in the utmost secrecy, without speech, and the woman must remain motionless and passive. It is thought shameful for a husband to gaze on his wife's body.

In this situation, where man is noble (as indeed he must be in a system of values that puts stress upon the concept of honour), but where certain aspects of his propagation are matters for shame, the discomfort of inconsistency is avoided in a kind of sexual dualism. If man is nearly all nobility, a natural predisposition to evil (κακία) is the most striking feature of the female character. She is above all cunning, especially in the sense that her cunning involves the corruption of another, that is the man. She is a constant threat to his honour. Πονηρός, cunning, is typically the adjective which also describes the Devil, and the Sarakatsani believe that the Devil has a hold over women who are his peculiar emissaries dispatched to provoke men's hearts with sexual passions. Thus the whole burden of the shame of sexual relations is shifted on to the female sex. Since her powers of sexual attraction are of this supernatural order, man, in general, is unable to resist them. It is simply the quality in a woman of being a woman which inflames the man. She may lure him to disaster without even a glance or a gesture. Once he advances on her she has not the strength to resist him. In the Sarakatsan view, the power of woman's sexuality, the weakness of her will, and the physical strength of a man, are the important factors involved in sexual activity. It is for these reasons that the individual woman is expected by her kinsmen to have 'shame', in the sense that in speech, gesture, attitude, and dress, she must, as far as possible, cloak the existence of this sexuality. For the same reasons the family watches over its women with the greatest care; especially in the case of an unmarried girl anxious eyes follow her if she must go to the well or collect firewood unaccompanied.

These beliefs about the sexes are accepted by the women as

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the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts.

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week, and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day.

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards.

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may

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884 help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an
156 element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially
577 hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which
● 834 otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of
others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that
causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a
greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often
through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The
[579] attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with
these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only
twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the
feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings
which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they
do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age
[561] grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect
[288] firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought
to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving
cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the
public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested
[584] that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sara-
katsan thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or
through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way
to attempt to provoke his desire.

156 Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to
577 have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded.
834 From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the
885 huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her
vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that
she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be
as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements,
if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled.
A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her
public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in
the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I
have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express
exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect.
Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to
move about more freely and with less supervision. She must
appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή).
It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife
of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

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783 holds any real terror for the Sarakatsanos, but rather the
784 spiritual death which precedes physical death. For sin interrupts
771 the communion between man and God on whose provision and protection a man and his family are, in the final analysis, entirely dependent. The consistency between this view of divine punishment and the system of prestige values is clear enough. In both cases it is the events of this life, and this world, which are significant.

783 But the Sarakatsani do not expect to be punished individu-
577 ally in the same way for ancestral sin. For this kind of sin refers to the general human condition not to individual transgression of particular interdictions. The two sins they particularly include under this rubric are sensuality and envy. Both are conditions which imply an attachment to material things which leads man away from God. And it is equally inevitable that every man must succumb, in some degree, to both these sins. However, the attitude to sensuality and envy is not precisely the same. The consequences of sensuality, as we have seen elsewhere, destroy the integrity and honour of the family. Sensuality is a condition which constantly threatens to undermine this institution from within. It must, therefore, be disciplined by all the strength and will of each man and woman.
[828] But unlike the protestant puritan who attempts to win his battle by destroying sensuality itself, and feels individually responsible and guilty when he fails, the Sarakatsanos accepts that sensuality is part of the human condition, but that he must struggle to contain and discipline it. The important
[834] restraints are essentially external. Unmarried men and women who are not kinsmen or affines have few legitimate opportunities to meet, and none to speak to one another. The unmarried daughter seldom goes to the well alone, and when she passes a man on the path she lowers her eyes. It is a tight prudential control, collectively exercised. For, as the Sarakatsani say, 'If you put your hand in the fire, it gets burnt'. A man of God may win an individual and inward control over the condition of sensuality, but ordinary men need the help of kinsmen and the support of institutions in the unequal fight. Sensuality is part of ancestral sin and as such a man or woman does not feel individually guilty for its existence. But it remains a threat to honour. And in this respect the struggle to control it is so

from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she marries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and unaneled. If he should die on the road — and the nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in mourning. When men turn fifty and women thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

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585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in [342] the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

577 834 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

[593] 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene: One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine, started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons, despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/237 cont./

577 121 2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f. said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

* * * *

597 The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. In the context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward

577 831 [834] [171] [195] [834] [886] [601]

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elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

~/335 cont./

128 764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 593 604 [605] When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 834 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 [589] Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.